The People United Can Stop Reagan And Reaganism!

BASIC DOCUMENT

Adopted by the 23rd National Convention of the Communist Party USA Nov. 13, 1983, Cleveland, Ohio

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RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

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CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by the 23rd National Convention CPUSA

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1. On the World Scene

"The forces that propel the world revolutionary process are the main factors determining the course of human events. No social, military or ideological developments now take place anywhere without being influenced by it.

"Within this world revolutionary process the class struggle and the transition from capitalism to socialism is the main current." (*Labor Up-Front*, Main Report to 22nd National Convention, August 23, 1979, Detroit, p. 17)

"There is a declining overall quality of life. . . .

"As the inner-contradictions sharpen, capitalism is increasingly incapable of solving any of the more basic critical problems faced by the nation and the people.

"Stagnation, sharpening of internal and external contradictions have become the dominant character of state monopoly capitalism in the period of its decline and decay." (*The Struggle Ahead: Time for a Radical Change*, Main Political Resolution, 22nd National Convention, August 23, 1979, Detroit, p. 13)

The Reagan-corporate policies have added a new dimension to all the problems faced by the people. They have destroyed much of the social security system. There are more hungry, homeless and sick people than at any time in our history. For millions, these policies have destroyed whatever safety net there was. The drop in the standard of living has broken all records. The Administration policy is to escalate racism, to remove all laws that in any way restrict policies and practices of racism and discrimination. The Reagan Administration has pushed the world to the brink of war and nuclear confrontation. Conducting undeclared, illegal wars of aggression is the declared policy of Reagan and the Pentagon. Dreams of world domination, open imperialist aggression, fanatical and anti-communism and anti-socialism fed by great power chauvinism and illusions of grandeur are the daily diet of the Reagan insanity.

Therefore, the central challenge facing our people today is the reversal of the disastrous course of war and nuclear confrontation and the monopoly-corporate anti-people, anti-labor, racist offensive that is aggressively pursued by the Reagan Administration. The linkage between the bottomless trillion dollar military budgets, the cuts in workers' wages, in social security programs, the devastation

of the cities, the plant closings, high unemployment, the structural crisis, the decline in the overall quality of life has escalated the overall crisis to new qualitative levels.

The many-sided popular mass upsurge continues to grow in size and militancy. Millions have lost confidence in "the system," in "the corrupt politicians," and in the two old parties of big business. Millions are seeking for new answers, new solutions, new politics, new alliances.

The economy continues to be ravaged by both short-range cyclical, as well as the longer-range general crisis. And there is a continuing deterioration of the structural framework of U.S. capitalism.

There are some factors like the increased production of military weapons, a decrease in some stock inventories, the decline in the rate of inflation and a spurt in the auto and construction industries which support estimates that the country is moving in the direction of an economic upturn.

However, there are other factors like the effects of the structural crisis, especially in the steel, auto, machine building and rubber industries, the continuing high unemployment, the new cuts in the federal social and economic programs, the decline in real wages, the continuing lack of capital investment, the deterioration in the U.S. share of world markets and the continuing economic crisis of world capitalism, which all act as serious roadblocks to any long-term, stable economic upturn. The continuing deterioration at the base of U.S. capitalism and Reaganomics continue to act as a serious obstacle to any economic recovery for the people and especially for the working class.

Corporate profits in the United States will rise more than 30% this year. The strongest increase will come in the profits of large financial corporations, which are expected to more than double. Profits of non-financial monopoly corporations are expected to rise 33%, to $158 billion.

The cuts in corporate taxes while increasing military expenditures are escalating the national debt and the ensuing interest payments and thus creating a new threat on the economic front. The huge national debt constitutes a new obstacle to any long range economic recovery. One of the growing economic disaster areas is in deficit financing, which can be the quicksand into which the economy sinks. This includes the national government debt of one trillion, 300 billion dollars; consumer debt of $350,000,000,000, plus the mortgage debt of $900,000,000,000. The total debt of the devel-

oping nations is some $630,0000,000,000. The leech-like parasitic banks and other financial institutions devour tens of billions as interest payments.

War production contracts are breaking all records. Even as non-military production stagnates, military goods production increases. This has the short-term effect of stimulating the economy. On the other hand, however, because the new war production industries are less and less labor intensive this tends to unbalance the economy and does not create new jobs. Thus, war production is not a basis for a stable economic recovery.

On this subject Lenin observed:

> "When capitalists work for the defense — for the state — it is obviously no longer 'pure' capitalism, but a special form of national economy. Pure capitalism means commodity production and commodity production means work for an unknown and free market. But the capitalist working for defense does not work for the market at all. He works on government orders, often with money loaned by the state." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 68-69.)

And when production is not for the market it tends to unbalance and in the long-run destabilize the economy.

The economic outlook is:

- For some spurts of activity in some areas, but no continuing, steady overall upturn.
- Unemployment will continue at crisis levels.
- Capital investment in the domestic economy will remain on a minimum basis.
- The new depth of both the general crisis and the structural crisis will continue to create havoc especially in industries like steel, auto, chemical, machine building and rubber.
- For the people, the economic gridlock will continue as an everyday crisis of living.
- Inflation will increase, especially for necessities.
- The standard of living will continue to decline.
- The economic gap affecting the racially and nationally oppressed peoples will continue to widen.

2. The Main Foreign Policy Currents and Trends

We are at one of the most grave crisis points in history. At stake is whether there will be a future of war or peace, nuclear arms race or disarmament.

The concept that war is not inevitable is based on confidence that the forces of peace can prevail over the forces of war. However, if the Reagan foreign policy is not stopped, if moves like Grenada, Lebanon, El Salvador, the mobilization of Japan, South Korea, the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles and of weapons for "star wars," the trillions spent for first strike nuclear superiority are not reversed, we will reach a point of no return, a point where NUCLEAR WAR WILL BECOME INEVITABLE.

The struggle to reverse U.S. foreign policy will not end with the placing of U.S. nuclear missiles on European soil. The struggle will be an intense and constant one to reduce weapons and withdraw nuclear missiles from Europe.

The policy of aggression, the arms buildup for nuclear superiority, the extreme anti-Sovietism, the accelerating dangerous adventures of undeclared wars, both covert and overt, to overthrow the governments of Nicaragua, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique and Poland have escalated, especially against Nicaragua, to new, explosive levels.

The brutal invasion of tiny Grenada, its continued armed occupation, denying the people the right to put their own house in order, exposes the Reaganite aim of conquering the entire Caribbean Basin for the benefit of U.S. transnational exploitation and oppression.

Undeclared wars, the so-called covert operations, have become a major component of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy. Increasing numbers who participate in these operations are U.S. military personnel out of uniform. These operations are carried on in complete disregard for all human rights, in total violation of international law and the laws passed by the U.S. Congress. U.S. foreign policy is fast becoming criminal banditry.

The support for reactionary, fascist and military regimes and counterrevolutionary forces around the world has also reached unprecedented levels. The United States has become the main supply

source, even to small counterrevolutionary bands, such as in Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola and many other areas, for increasingly modern offensive weapons. The military and economic support to fascist, racist militaristic regimes such as South Africa, El Salvador, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Honduras and Guatemala is also now on a massive scale.

In the Middle East, U.S. armed forces threaten the existence of a unified, independent Lebanon, menace Syria and block the peaceful, just solution of a Palestinian homeland, a situation fraught with the danger of U.S. troops becoming locked into an unwinnable Vietnam-type war.

Israel continues its role as an imperialist power itself, as well as a heightened role as surrogate for U.S. imperialism. Israel continues its genocidal warfare against the Palestinian people. U.S. imperialism is establishing military bases in Egypt, Lebanon and the Sinai.

The active engineering and conducting of world counterrevolution is a major component in the Reagan Administration's foreign policy, which has reached unprecedented levels. Besides the CIA and four military intelligence departments, the Pentagon has set up a secret headquarters to carry out covert and overt military operations and counterrevolutions worldwide.

U.S. imperialism has moved into the doomsday path of nuclear confrontation in its mad drive to re-establish its domination of the world, to alter the world balance of forces once again in favor of imperialism, to undo the military parity that now exists and to risk nuclear war, to achieve its global aims.

The world focus point of U.S. imperialism is the destruction of world socialism and in the first place the Soviet Union. It is this fundamental fact that has guided the Reagan Administration's every move.

The purpose of the U.S. military buildup, the designated role of the rapid deployment force, all the demagogy about a "Soviet threat," the goal of all the military maneuvers and the increase in the number of U.S. overseas military bases are all part of the U.S. imperialist counterrevolutionary force.

This is an intervention force built up to stop and reverse the worldwide revolutionary process of peoples and nations liberating themselves from foreign domination and oppression.

This is the second track of a two-track offensive. The other track is the building of a first strike nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, with the aim of defeating and destroying the socialist com-

munity of nations. It is doomed to failure, but it could end in a nuclear doomsday if the U.S. madmen are not stopped.

3. The Mass Domestic Currents and Trends

The major developments firing the people's mass upsurge and the process of radicalization are:

A) The many-sided economic and political offensive resulting in an overall declining quality of life for the working class and people.

B) The growing realization that the United States is not a safe sanctuary from the destruction of nuclear war.

C) The increased use of racism by the ruling class and the open, blatant advocacy and support for it by the Reagan Administration.

D) The growing realization that the structural crisis is a long-range, possibly permanent condition of life, with high unemployment and industrial stagnation.

E) The high chronic unemployment and rising cost of living.

F) The overall lack of security on the job and at home.

G) The growing awareness that the country cannot support both the huge military expenditures and the maintenance of a decent standard of living.

H) The mounting attack on and curtailment of democratic rights.

I) The rude awakening that large areas of our country are sitting on powder kegs of corporate-made toxic pollution dumps and swamps.

J) The crumbling of the infrastructure, mass transit, housing, schools, hospitals, etc., in our urban centers, and the increased homelessness and destitution of our people.

K) The deterioration of public education and the increase in illiteracy.

L) The deterioration and rising costs of health care and the rising problems of neglected mental illness.

M) The growing hopelessness of the majority of the young generation about school, jobs, a future and a decent life.

N) The mounting disillusion with the two old parties of big business and the mass disgust at the depth of corruption at all levels of government.

O) The economic disaster that is destroying the last vestiges of family and independently operated farms.

P) The crushing, brutal weight of monopoly power against all non-monopoly small businesses.

Q) The intolerable increasing tax burden on the people, while the corporations pay less and less.

To be a factor in influencing the mass upsurge, or sections of it, means we must deal with and organize movements and struggles around the issues that give rise to the upsurge. Like the Mississippi, the mass upsurge is fed by numerous streams and currents. The main streams that feed the river are the present and future components of the anti-monopoly, all people's front. Separately, these components have become the most active sections of the overall mass upsurge. However, the new trend is for the separate components to act in unity. A striking example is the burgeoning unity in struggle between the farm movements and the trade unions. There are many other examples of growing coalitions and growing movements for jobs, peace and freedom.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

On the economic front, the retreats which have resulted in the takebacks and givebacks have slowed down and in some industries have come to a halt. These are signals that the two-year period of defensive struggles are over and that we are at the threshold of a period of offensive actions.

The offensive struggles will have to include winning back the takebacks and givebacks, real take-home wage increases, re-establishment of effective grievance procedures, trade union veto power over the use and distribution of robot benefits, re-establishment and extension of affirmative action programs, closing the widening economic gap caused by racial discrimination and inequality, a scaling down of corporate prerogatives, contractual agreements against runaway plants and elimination of non-union "contracting out." The idea that nationalization is a realistic solution to the problems of job security is gaining ground even in middle and top leadership circles.

In order for the trade union movement to win a higher level of victories there is a need for a well-planned, united drive to organize the unorganized. There is a need to raise the scope of struggles against anti-labor laws. And, above all, to go on the offensive the

working class and trade union movement needs unity in its own ranks based on class struggle policies.

There is a rising mood of militancy, especially among the workers in the mass production industries. There is a new level of radicalization. The new militancy exists both among the employed and unemployed workers. The militant mood is fired by a growing realization that the corporations are using the economic crisis to force concessions, close plants, move operations to lower-cost, higher-profit areas, to break unions, to call for union decertification. Workers are seeing the corporate shift from policies of "partnership" and concessions to policies of confrontation and takebacks. The marked change in the mood of unemployed workers like the steel and auto workers is based on the growing awareness that because of the structural deterioration they are not ever going to get their jobs back.

In the electoral arena, the trade unions have taken significant steps toward greater involvement as well as political independence. The unions were an important factor in the defeat of ultra-right candidates in the November 1982 elections. Nationally and locally the trade unions were an important factor in helping to blunt the racist offensive that was conducted against the election of Harold Washington in Chicago.

There is an important change of outlook and attitude taking place on the local leadership levels of the trade unions. In many of the unions local presidents and other officers have become the main driving force against the policies of retreat. This has made it possible for the rank and file to support and give expression to their more militant positions through leadership of the trade union locals. Some members of top union leadership, including on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, have taken some steps away from their all-out support for the reactionary Reagan foreign policies, including increasing criticism of the military budget.

The transition from the defensive to offensive struggles is a difficult and critical period for the trade union movement. It brings into sharp focus the utter failure of the policies of class collaboration and the problems and pains of developing policies of class struggle trade unionism. It calls for the development of new tactics and new approaches in all areas of struggle.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective in helping the working class and the trade union movmement meet the challenge of the monopoly capital-Reaganite anti-labor offensive. How to be more effective in

helping the trade unions to unite and lead the working class from its defensive posture of retreat to offensive struggles and victories.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To help the rank and file to more effectively pressure and influence the union leadership to initiate more militant and better organized struggles.

B) To help in the building of left-center coalitions and movements under the new circumstances when the trade unions are called upon to move from defensive to offensive struggles.

C) To more effectively fight for working class and trade union unity on all levels based on class struggle policies.

D) To be more helpful in finding effective ways to struggle against the difficult problems of plant closings and runaway shops and to handle the question of imports.

E) To help the trade unions in the struggle to re-establish the militant movement for affirmative action programs as a built-in feature of trade union policy.

F) To be more effective in finding the paths of Black-white unity and not permitting the corporations to use seniority rights in opposition to affirmative action programs. While keeping the main fire of demands on the corporations it is necessary to convince white workers that in the interest of class unity, which is also self-interest, they have to make corrective adjustments.

G) To more effectively fight for unity of our multiracial, multinational, male-female working class.

H) To be more helpful and effective in organizing the unorganized.

I) To be more helpful and effective in bringing about a working unity of the working class and trade unions with other sectors of the anti-monopoly all-people's front.

THE UNEMPLOYED

The problem of unemployment continues to play havoc with the lives of millions. The impact is felt both in increase in numbers as well as the depth of pain and suffering. Unemployment continues to be an urgent critical question of food, clothing, shelter and medical care for millions of Americans. Millions keep reaching the end of their unemployment checks without any possibility of getting a job. The new Reagan cuts will only further add to the impoverishment and misery of the unemployed.

The organized unemployed movement is one of the new emerging

components of the mass upsurge. This movement is taking on a variety of forms. JOIN (Jobs Or Income Now) and a variety of other forms, including those organized by the trade unions, have taken root in many communities. Wherever unemployed centers have opened they have quickly become the focal point, the gathering place, the planning and organizing center of struggles. While still holding back on specific forms, most trade union locals are taking actions on the general issues facing unemployed workers.

The increase in activities in some sectors of the economy and the constant Administration and mass media ballyhoo about the "economic upturn" is having some slowing-down effect on the organization of the unemployed. This is a momentary phenomenon. It is true that the rise in the rate of unemployment has slowed down, but the numbers of unemployed have not. This is a problem of long duration. Reagan is now demanding another billion dollar cut in programs that mainly affect the unemployed. Increasing numbers of the long-term unemployed are running out of unemployment checks, out of medical insurance, out of savings. Eviction and mortgage foreclosures are still on the rise. While there is definitely a need for increased efforts to build unemployed organizations in neighborhoods, there is also a need for some national network coordination, which was the goal of the July 2-3, 1983 Congress of the Unemployed in Chicago.

THE CHALLENGE

To be more effective in helping to organize the unemployed. To be more effective in organizing actions around the every day critical problems facing the unemployed. To help build a mass movement to fight for Federal legislation to create jobs, including support for the AFL-CIO $68 billion dollar jobs program.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) There should not be a single Party club that is not involved in the struggles of the unemployed.

B) It is necessary to examine why the elementary stage of establishing some form of unemployed center has not been realized in most of our major cities and then take steps to do so.

C) We should also examine why the Party in some major cities has not taken the elementary step to distribute our press where the unemployed gather, such as the unemployment and welfare offices.

D) We must make the distribution of our press at unemployment centers a regular feature of our mass work. The slogan "Turn every

unemployment office into a Daily World and People's World Reading Room" can become a reality.

E) We must become involved in and give every support to all struggles of the unemployed — evictions, utility cut-offs, food stamps, soup kitchens, etc.

4. The Struggle For Equality of Afro-American People

Racism was born and lives in the service of the ruling robber class. It intensifies the exploitation of working people and deepens social deprivation. It undermines democracy, scorns humanism and mocks justice. It violates the human dignity of men and women. It fosters division and hatred within the class, between class brothers and sisters. It corrodes the humanity and moral fiber of the nation. The eradication of all vestiges of racism from society and the relations between people is a historic necessity for social and political progress.

Racism is a cruel weapon and brutal practice of state monopoly capital in its drive for maximum-plus corporate profits. As with toxic chemicals, the Reagan Administration is working to make racism into an officially sanctioned pollutant. It oozes from every crevice, every corner of capitalism. It is present in every plant layoff, every unemployment line, in every college first day, in every hospital emergency ward, in eviction notices and emergency shelters. The Reagan Administration and the Supreme Court have become instruments to wipe out gains and undo the existing legal restrictions and affirmative action programs.

On the other hand, there are some developments that go in the opposite direction and demonstrate that despite the official and legal racist actions, the racist poison is losing some of its potency. It is necessary to understand and draw some of the positive lessons from the wide electoral experiences, such as the Harold Washington victory in Chicago, the Wilson Goode primary success in the Philadelphia mayoralty race, the campaign of Tom Bradley in California, the Robert Clark Congressional race in Mississippi, the Kathy Hall campaign in Indiana and the Richard Hatcher re-election in Gary.

The main lesson is that in a new way it is now possible to build people's coalitions and win, even under the most difficult circum-

stances and virulent racist attacks. The experiences in organizing the unemployed also demonstrate a higher level of understanding of the need for Black-white unity by all of the unemployed. It is important to see these positive developments in order to build on them.

The aim of the Reagan Administration is to wipe out the hard-won gains of many years of struggle for equality. There are some new difficult questions in the struggle for equality that are related to the effects of the economic crisis, especially the effects of the longer-range structural crisis.

Corporations are using the layoffs to foster racism and divisions in the ranks of workers. They are using it to wipe out the gains, including the gains of the affirmative action programs. There is also a concentrated drive to wipe out the gains of Afro-Americans on the electoral front, including the election of 21 Representatives in Congress and some 225 Mayors in recent elections. There is a centrally directed drive of frameup and harassment of Afro-American public officials. The drive to wipe out the gains in the field of education and in the teaching professions continues. Busing to achieve school integration is being systematically dismantled and tied up in the courts.There is an effort to wipe out the affirmative action gains in city police and fire departments which goes hand in hand with the increase in police brutality.

The economic gridlock crisis has further emphasized the fact that there is a special kind of link, a bond between the class struggle against exploitation and the struggle against racism. They both have the same economic roots, the system of capitalist exploitation.

No one in the United States can take a second breath without encountering the iron heel of monopoly capital. The class struggle is the expression of this central, all-dominating contradiction in our lives. The resolution of this contradiction is involved in all struggles for social progress. The sharpening of the class contradictions creates the objective propellants and subjective factors that stimulate the development of class consciousness.

These higher levels of consciousness are all involved in the struggle against racism. There is a dialectical interchange and unity of cause and effect between the struggle against racism and the rise of class consciousness. Class consciousness has a built-in limitation unless it takes up the struggle against racism. This is the essence of Karl Marx's profound thought that "labor in the white skin cannot be free as long as labor in the Black skin is branded."

The other side of this truth is that the struggle against racism has

a built-in limitation if it is not related to the class struggle against capitalism, a struggle that gives rise to class consciousness. Because racism is an instrument for creating class disunity we must therefore stress the centrality of the struggle for equality in the development of class unity. Because the Afro-American workers are an inseparable part of the U.S. working class as well as the dominant numbers of the Black community they are central in the molding of unity and coalition relationships between the working class as a whole and the Afro-American community.

Some 50 million of our people are victims of racial and national oppression. The sharpest edge of racism is that which is directed against the Afro-American community. The other manifestations of racial and national oppression are fed by the racism against Afro-Americans. Therefore, in the struggle against racism and national oppression and all forms of discrimination, ethnic prejudices and chauvinism, the struggle against the racism directed against Black Americans is decisive to the unity of all of the racially and nationally oppressed and their unity with the working class.

The fundamental framework within which all developments, processes, movements and struggles take place is the class struggle. The class struggle does not replace the special features of the struggle for equality. We not only recognize the special class, national and racist nature of oppression, but we give it a top priority by explaining its relationship to the class struggle and to capitalist exploitation. The development of working class consciousness is decisive for plowing under all ideological currents designed to support every type of exploitation and oppression.

Our position leads us to have confidence in winning victories against racism. In the struggle for equality, the main source of power comes from concepts of unity and coalition, unity of the racially and nationally oppressed peoples, Black-white unity, coalitions of the working class with the Afro-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities. Above all, working people and all anti-monopoly forces need unity now more than ever. Therefore, we must reject and fight against anything that denies, ignores, divides, distorts, detracts or diverts from this path of struggle.

A critical part of this struggle is the struggle against racist influences and ideas in the ranks of white workers. The struggle against racism is, therefore, crucial for the development of working class consciousness. For the United States, racism along with anti-Communism are the most formidable obstacles to the development of full class consciousness which is socialist consciousness. We

must clearly see the relationship between these ideological currents. There cannot be racist working class consciousness. Racism is to the working class what scabbing is to the trade union. There are white workers whose class consciousness is weakened to the degree that they are influenced by racism or chauvinism. They must be won to full consciousness. There cannot be an anti-monopoly coalition that does not take on the racist ideology, the racism practice of monopoly capital. Thus, the struggle against racism and for equality is inextricably linked with the most basic processes of the class struggle, the struggle for social progress and the struggle for socialism.*

THE CHALLENGE

How to more effectively raise the struggle for equality and against racism to new levels. How to more effectively fight against the racist policies of the Reagan Administration. How to more effectively convince white Americans that besides being just, from every viewpoint, the struggle against and the rejection of racism is also in their own true interests, and an imperative for realizing the effective unity of the working class.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) Not to be satisfied with general statements, but to get to the concrete tasks of organizing actions, struggles and movements against the specific effects and practices of racism.

B) To take up the concretes of organizing and fighting for programs of affirmative action.

C) To more effectively and consistently work to counteract the effects of racist and chauvinist influences in the progressive and left movements, as well as the Party.

D) To more effectively integrate the struggle against racism into all mass struggles in all areas of life.

E) Establish Commissions on Afro-American Equality in every district of the Party.

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*For a more extended statement of the Communist Party's position on the Afro-American question and the struggle for its solution, see the resolution adopted at the 22nd National Convention CPUSA. It is available in pamphlet form entitled *For Economic, Political and Social Equality Against Racism and Discrimination. The Struggle for Afro-American Liberation.* It is available from New Outlook Publishers & Distributors, 235 West 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011.

5. Fifty Million Americans Fight for Equality

The conditions of long-range contraction and decline of the U.S. economy aggravate the inequality in all areas of life imposed by racism on some 50 million racially and nationally oppressed Americans. Downturns in the economy inevitably mean depression condition in these communities. This situation characterizes the current U.S. economy in which the interaction of cyclical and structural crises, together with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism produces conditions of acute suffering and hardships for these sections of the population.

Reagan's right-wing policies of glutting the war monopolies and financial hierarchy, while slashing and starving critical social services, are turning the neighborhoods and areas where the nationally oppressed people are compelled to live into economic disaster areas. This devastating situation is being further aggravated by the Reagan Administration's blatant violations of the Constitution in the areas of civil rights of the racially and nationally oppressed.

Defense and expansion of the process of affirmative action and its goal of equal opportunity for all Americans irrespective of race, color, national origin, sex and religious affiliation, is crucial to the struggle of the racially and nationally oppressed minorities for economic, political, social and cultural equality.

6. Chicano-Mexicano Equality

The special oppression of the Chicano-Mexicano people is rooted in the developments of U.S. capitalism and imperialism. These policies of chauvinism and discrimination have been sustained by centuries of oppression and the U.S. policies of aggression against Mexico.

The Chicano-Mexicano people are compelled to work on the hardest jobs in the mines, mills and other basic industries. They are also among the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Their unemployment rate is more than double that of white workers. The Chicano-Mexicano people are predominantly working class and over 25% belong to trade unions. They are victimized by corporate landowners and agribusinesses on the farms and in the vineyards and

food processing plants.They are subject to discriminatory treatment in wages, housing, education and in the exercise of political, social, cultural and basic human rights.

Poverty grips whole communities. The Chicano-Mexicano people are subjected to assaults upon their culture and their personal and national dignity. In most areas, public authorities suppress the use of the Spanish language and other aspects of their national culture. The Reagan budget has drastically cut funds for bilingual education.

Mexican people continue to come to the United States in search of work. Agribusiness agents take advantage of this situation to impose low wages and intolerable conditions. Immigration officials and other government agents harass, intimidate and try to suppress all organized resistance to this shameful exploitation. Periodic "roundups" and continuous arrests are carried out under the pretext of searching for "undocumented workers."

The Chicano-Mexicano people's struggle for equality is part of the overall struggle for democracy. There are increasingly close ties with the trade union movement, reflecting increased awareness of this problem by trade union leaders.

The Chicano-Mexicano people comprise one-third of the Los Angeles County population. The fact that not one Chicano-Mexicano has been elected to public office in this county is a measure of the discrimination.

There is a growing militancy and an increase in organized forms of resistance and struggle. This takes place in economic life, in the electoral and cultural arenas. There is a coming together with other sections of the racially and nationally oppressed. There is also a growing unity between the Chicano-Mexicano communities and the trade union movement. In this, the Chicano-Mexicano workers, who are an integral part of the U.S. working class, play a crucial role. All these developments become obvious in the very important role the Chicano-Mexicano communities played in the mayoralty election in Chicago, the gubernatorial election in California, in the election of Kathy Hall in Indiana, in elections in San Antonio, Texas and many other areas.

THE CHALLENGE

How to more effectively raise the struggle for full equality and against all forms and expressions of racism and chauvinism against the Chicano-Mexicano people to new levels.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To find more effective ways to raise the struggle for equality of the Chicano-Mexicano people in the movements and struggles of the American people, but especially in the working class and trade union movements.

B) To more effectively and consistently fight against the influences of racism and chauvinism in the people's movements, in the progressive and left movements, as well as in the Party.

C) To more effectively help to mobilize the movement and struggle against passage of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill and to more effectively lead and participate in the struggles against all forms of discrimination against the workers without documents.

D) Establishment of Commissions on Chicano-Mexicano Equality in districts where there are Chicano-Mexicano communities.

E) To be more helpful in the struggle for bi-linguality in the legal, political, educational and cultural life of the Chicano-Mexicano communities.

7. Puerto Rican Equality in the U.S. and Independence for Puerto Rico

Puerto Ricans in the United States constitute a nationally oppressed minority. While residing in the United States, the Puerto Rican people, like the Afro-Americans and Chicano-Mexicano peoples, are largely a component of our multiracial, multinational working class.

Puerto Ricans in the United States are overwhelmingly working class. They are a key sector of the class in industries like garment. They are an important sector of the working class in many industrial centers, including in steel communities.

In every area of life, political, economic, social and cultural, Puerto Ricans in the United States suffer the effects of racism, discrimination and the denial of equality. Puerto Rican workers in the United States are among the lowest paid, making only 50% of the median national income, while being denied access to quality education and health care, legal and political representation. Unemployment among Puerto Ricans is currently in the 30% range. The struggle for equality of the Puerto Rican component of our working class must also start with the struggle to wipe out the wage

gap and the discriminatory practices in hiring, firing, job promotion and classification.

As is the case with Chicano-Mexicano workers, the refusal of corporations to consider using Spanish in the work place becomes an instrument of inequality. This is especially a contributing factor in the refusal to conduct bilingual classes for learning skills and trades. Bilingual classes for learning higher skills and trades must become a union contract demand.

Puerto Rico remains a colony of U.S. imperialism. The exploitation of Puerto Rican workers in the United States is tied to the colonial nature of exploitation of Puerto Rico by U.S. monopoly corporations. It is also tied to the racist exploitation suffered by Afro-Americans and other nationally oppressed minorities. The factors governing the large movement of Puerto Ricans between the United States and Puerto Rico must be viewed within the context of that colonial reality and has to be placed in the framework of the movement of millions of workers throughout the non-socialist world who are forced from their homes to seek work because of the policies of imperialist domination and oppression by reactionary, militaristic regimes.

The struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, one of the few remaining colonies in the world, is of critical importance in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Puerto Rico has been turned into the largest military base of U.S. imperialism outside of its continental borders. From this staging point, U.S. imperialist aggression threatens the movements for national liberation throughout Latin America and the Caribbean and poses a threat to the independence of socialist Cuba.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective in the struggle for complete equality in the economic, political, social and cultural areas of life. How to be more effective in support of the struggles of the people of Puerto Rico for independence by gaining maximum support in the U.S. for their right of self-determination.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful in the struggle to close the economic gaps.

B) To be more helpful in the struggle to unite peoples who are victims of racial and national oppression and to unite these peoples with the working class movements.

C) To be more helpful in the struggle for affirmative action

programs within the context of the new period.

D) To be more helpful in the struggle against the ideology of racism and national chauvinism.

E) To be more helpful in the struggle to break down the barriers to political representation.

F) Within the overall struggles for securing economic, political, cultural and social equality for the Chicano-Mexicano, the Puerto Rican and other Latino peoples there is a need to raise the demand for bi-linguality and multi-linguality in the legal, political, educational and cultural life of communities in which Spanish is the language of any section of the population.

G) To improve our work in the movement for self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico. In that context, to help show the U.S. working class why self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico is in their interests.

8. Native American Indian Equality

The Native American Indian peoples in the United States are fighting for their very survival against the power of state-monopoly capitalism, which has become especially threatening under the racist Reagan Administration. The policies of discrimination against Native American Indian workers continues in hiring, wage rates, upgrading, in housing, medical care and education.

Powerful monopolies are expropriating Indian coal, oil and uranium resources with active assistance of the Administration and Department of the Interior. U.S. Government agencies, and especially the Bureau of Indian Affairs, act as neocolonial overlords and the mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism produces almost indescribable poverty, unemployment and denial of cultural and social rights.

The Reagan budget cuts have devastated social services available through urban Indian community centers. The cuts are forcing the closing of Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, education programs and the elimination of special Indian public health care services. Budget cuts have also jacked up an historically high unemployment rate on the 261 reservations. For instance, on the largest Navajo reservation the unemployment rate is 80%, and the budget cuts become especially significant when we add that the U.S. Government is the

single largest employer of Native Americans on reservations.

On the reservations there is an accelerated corporate ripoff of energy and water resources. Though some small advances have recently been made by a few tribes in regaining their stolen lands, the main direction is a shrinking of the existing land base and many tribes are still fighting in the courts for just land settlements. The struggle continues in the fight to retain and expand a land base, for sovereignty over the reservations and resources, full compensation for all resources taken, for the recognition of full treaty rights.

The struggle continues for an end to repression, harassment and sterilization of Native American Indian peoples, and other genocidal policies, as well as respect for their languages, religions and customs. In addition, there must be an intensified drive to remove all barriers to full electoral and representation rights for Native American Indian peoples.

There is a drive by the Reagan Administration in its recent 1983 Indian Affairs Policy Statement to fragment the Indian people into segregated, isolated poverty-stricken communities. "Self-determination" is fraudulently used as a screen for corporate thievery on the reservation as well as in the cities. Among Native American Indian peoples there is a growing anger and protest aimed at the Reagan Administration against the unemployment and dire poverty. There is also discussion about the Reagan self-determination and private sector schemes, which will only create opportunities for greater corporate plunder, greater cuts in funding for programs and greater oppression.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective in the struggle for full equality of the Native American Indian peoples, taking into consideration the special and unique features of their movements.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful in bringing the issues in the struggle for full equality of the Native American Indian peoples to the other sectors of the anti-monopoly all-people's front.

B) To be more helpful in raising to a higher level the struggle against the brutal genocidal policies of the Reagan Administration directed against the Native American Indian peoples.

C) To be more helpful in the struggle against the racist ideological campaigns of slander against the Native American Indian peoples.

D) To be more effective and consistent in the fight against the influences of chauvinism and racism against the Native American Indian peoples in the mass movements, the progressive and left movements as well as in the Party.

9. Equality for Asian and Pacific Peoples

Among the millions who are racially and nationally oppressed are the peoples whose ethnic roots are in the countries of Asia and the Pacific area. They include immigrants and their U.S.-born families from the Philippines, Korea, China, Japan and many other countries.

Racism and national chauvinism deprive these peoples of equal rights and opportunities, as it does other racial minorities. Employers reap super-profits from their skills and labor. Their problems are similar to those of Chicano-Mexicano, Puerto Rican and Native American Indian peoples and therefore these peoples are objectively part of the racially and nationally oppressed and their struggles relate to the anti-monopoly all-people's front.

THE CHALLENGE

To become aware and raise to a new higher level the struggle for full equality.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

In order to be more effective and to make a more meaningful contribution, it is necessary to organize Party Commissions on Filippino Equality and among other Asian Pacific peoples as we increase our members and cadre.

10. Peoples from the Caribbean and Central American Countries

The millions of people who have come from the countries in Central America and the Caribbean have also been forced into the ranks of the victims of racial and national oppression. Many have

become a part of the section of the U.S. working class in the below minimum wage scale jobs especially in the service industries. Many suffer the special oppression of those who are called "undocumented."

THE CHALLENGE

How to become more aware of and involved in the struggles relating to the special issues and problems of the people from the Caribbean and Central American countries.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

To organize forms that will help the Party to become more effective in these struggles.

11. Peoples from Other Countries

Many of the new peoples who have been coming to the United States in large numbers are from countries like Iran, Greece, Egypt, as well as Lebanon and other Arabic-speaking countries. It is now necessary for our Party to establish political and organizational forms to help the Party become more aware of and involved in the special problems and struggles these peoples face because of racial and national oppression.

12. The Jewish People

Jewish Americans today, representing the largest Jewish population of any country in the world, face economic hardships as a result of the depression. About 20% live in poverty. There is also a crisis of leadership in the Jewish community because of the radical changes in the thinking of Jewish Americans.

The emergence of the New Jewish Agenda, a movement that runs parallel with the goals of the Peace Now Movement in Israel, is having an effect on and reflects the Jewish community's questioning and doubts about Israel's policies and actions, as well as about Zionism. Zionism, because it supports U.S. imperialist policies and the expansionist and annexationist policies of the Begin Government, is a divisive and negative influence in the Jewish community

and works to divert Jewish Americans from their natural alliance with the working class and the all-peoples front. Zionism works to usurp and misuse the rightful feelings of Jewish Americans toward the existence of Israel in the attempt to divert the traditional progressive influences in the Jewish community to reactionary policies.

The recent statements of the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Congress and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, together with the positions of the New Jewish Agenda give strong support to the nuclear freeze movement and other peace initiatives. The recent statement of 120 Jewish law students from prestigious U.S. universities, condemning the policies of the Begin Government, add great weight and reflect the movement for change in the thought patterns of the Jewish community.

In the United Stats, there is no real protection against racist or anti-Semitic slander. Rather, there is the bourgeois notion that such behavior constitutes "free speech," that to repress it in any way, even when connected with organized groups like the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan, is "undemocratic."

Jewish Americans are denied equal rights in many areas of life. Anti-Semitism still exists in many areas, especially in the area of job discrimination in hiring and promotion. Anti-Semitic demagogy and violence are staples of reactionary and fascistic movements. It seeks to divert the people's anger against Reaganism, Reaganomics and the capitalist system.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective in the struggle against all forms of anti-Semitism in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres of life.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful in the struggle against the ideologies of racism, national chauvinism, anti-Semitism and Zionism.

B) To be more helpful in assisting the mass of the Jewish people to see their common interests with the U.S. working class and the forces of the anti-monopoly, all-people's front.

C) To be more effective in exposing the big lie of anti-Sovietism, which is the main poison that the Zionist movement spreads.

D) To help explain that the future and the basic interest of Israel are not served by being tied to U.S. imperialism.

13. The Farm and Rural Crisis

The agri-crisis is gaining momentum. Family and independently operated farm foreclosures and farm debt continue to rise without letup. The mass upsurge has a most militant component in the farmers. Their creative protests, demonstrations, marches and tactics continue to develop in scope and depth. With the exception of corporate managers of agribusiness, the movements and struggles involve all sectors of the farm community. And, increasingly, the actions of the farmers are attracting the support of people from the towns and communities, especially workers and trade unionists.

The National Conference of U.S. Farmers called by the U.S. Farmers Association was held on April 8-10 in Des Moines, Iowa, and attracted farmers from 23 states and 2 Canadian provinces. They represented more than 30 farm organizations and coalitions. The conference resulted in the founding of the North American Farm Alliance and the adoption of a program and principles of unity, including unity with labor.

The reports and resolutions passed by this conference reflected a high level of understanding. They took positions on such issues as ending all intervention in Central America, support for the nuclear freeze, a cut in the military budget and support for a massive jobs bill. The conference participants placed great stress on the need to develop farmer-labor unity. They took concrete measures to achieve such a unity. The North American Farm Alliance is an all-farmers' united front formation. They have been extremely militant in separate groups. In this united organization they will become an even more powerful sector. These developments can make a significant change in the political landscape. The farmers and farm communities will add an important sector to the anti-monopoly, all-people's front.

THE CHALLENGE

To bring to our Party on all levels an awareness and understanding of the qualitative change that is taking place in the farmers' movement and to become involved in the struggles, the formation of organizations and especially the growing farmer-worker alliance.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful in creating a community support base for the goals adopted at the Iowa conference.

B) To put an end to the Party's long-term neglect of this area of struggle.

C) To be more helpful in alerting the trade union movement to the great possibilities and its responsibilities in bringing about a closer farmer-labor alliance.

D) To guarantee full follow-up from the Party's national farm conference in Minnesota on June 18-19.

E) To help expose the Reagan Administration's phoney farm policies and to become more involved in the struggles to change them.

14. The Movements for Peace and Disarmament

While the war danger increases the very acuteness of the threat is giving rise to a more powerful opposition to war. The millions who are involved in continuous mass actions in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the Netherlands, England and Italy are without precedent.

And, never before in U.S. history has such a great number of Americans expressed opposition to a government war policy. The 400,000 who marched in Washington on August 27 are the most determined and conscious of the tens of millions who oppose the Reagan war policy. A clear majority of our people favor a complete freeze in nuclear weapons testing, production and deployment, as was shown in numerous referendums across the country.

The millions who took part in Labor Day actions throughout the country came out against Reagan's policies, including his policies of war. Twenty international trade unions have taken a solid stand against the Reaganite policy of aggression in Central America. The October 21-24 days of protest against deployment of Pershing and Cruise nuclear missiles in Europe were sponsored by all the major U.S. peace organizations and involved hundreds of thousands in 300 major cities.

And, in spite of unprecedented efforts, led by Reagan and the mass media, to incite hysteria over the Korean spy plane provocation, the majority of the American people remained firm in their opposition to the Reagan policies of war and aggression.

The broadest expression of the peace sentiment is the movement for a nuclear freeze. This was reflected in the overwhelming vote for

the freeze resolution in the U.S. Congress. This broad sentiment is reflected in the growth of the Jobs with Peace movement, including the majority support wherever it has appeared on the ballot. It is reflected in the broad support given the August 27th demonstration in Washington for Jobs, Peace and Freedom. It was reflected and was an important factor in the defeat of many candidates who openly supported Reagan's policies of aggression and intervention. It is reflected in the growing agreement with and support for the new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. It is reflected in the continuing anti-nuclear policy statements of the major religious organizations, and the growing support and participation of the trade unions including for cuts in the military budget.

There is a growing realization and understanding that the source of the arms race and the danger of nuclear war is the Reagan Administration's policy of nuclear superiority and the insane concept of limited nuclear war. There is a growing awareness that the Soviet Union is a resolute force for peace and is working for serious disarmament negotiations.

The peace issue is increasingly becoming the main source of the widening credibility gap between the people and the Reagan Administration. The growing knowledge that there is a direct linkage between the increase in military expenditures and the economic problems adds a new dimension and urgency to the struggle for peace and for cuts in the military budget.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective in mobilizing and organizing the broad sentiment for peace into more consistent actions and demonstrations on all levels. How to organize enough pressure to force Congress to block the insane Reagan actions that have pushed the world to the brink.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful in stimulating more activities by organizations such as the U.S. Peace Council, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), SANE, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Mothers for Peace, Physicians for Social Responsibility, The Society of Friends, Mobilization for Survival, Jobs with Peace and the nuclear freeze movement.

B) To be more helpful and effective in bringing more direct pressure on Congress by supporting those who oppose the Reagan policies.

C) To be more effective in exposing the big lie of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

D) To be more effective in stimulating the trade union movement, including helping them to see more directly the connection between the economic struggles, the role of the transnationals and the struggle for peace.

15. The Anti-Imperialist Movement

Within the broad peace sentiment there is a rising conscious anti-imperialist sentiment and movement. This is more militant and more directly focused against U.S. policies of open and direct aggression, against the U.S. policies of attempting to overthrow governments, especially in countries that have in the past suffered from colonialism.

These movements have especially become active against the brazen U.S. policy of intervention and aggression against Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Grenada and Mozambique. They are active in support of anti-imperialist and national liberation forces in countries like South Africa, Namibia, Chile, the Philippines, Iran and Puerto Rico. There is strong support for these movements in the religious organizations, the Congressional Black Caucus, sections of the trade union movement, and in the movements of the peoples who are ethnically related to the countries of Central America and the Caribbean areas.

The broad sections of the anti-imperialist sentiment are an expression of protest against the injustice and criminality of foreign interference. In their ranks there is a growing understanding that the U.S. Government policies of intervention and aggression are in support of profits and exploitation by the transnational corporations and U.S. imperialist policies.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective and helpful in relating these movements and sentiments to the overall struggles against U.S. imperialist policies.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful in bringing an advanced understanding of

the issues and dangers of the U.S. policies of aggression in Central America to the freeze and trade union movements.

B) To be more helpful in showing the connection between the policies of the Reagan Administration and the corporate policies of exploitation and plunder.

C) To be more helpful in explaining the relationship between the racist and anti-working class policies at home and the imperialist policies abroad.

16. The Religious Movements

The anti-war, anti-imperialist and to some extent anti-monopoly and anti-racist positions expressed by most of the major religious organizations have added new dimensions to the overall mass peoples upsurge. Their outspoken positions and statements are a significant factor in creating a moral atmosphere that mobilizes and gives support to the struggle for peace, equality and justice. They are an important factor in the grass roots of the nuclear freeze movement. They have become an effective opposition to the ultra-right fascist groups operating behind the cloak of religion. They are an important voice in the struggle for democracy. They play an important anti-imperialist role, especially in relation to Central and Latin America. They have added new strength to the peace forces within the trade union movement.

While taking some steps of retreat under pressure, the Pastoral Letter on War and Peace approved by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops remains a strong, influential and far-reaching statement on basic issues.

The National Council of Churches admirably defended its positions on peace, social justice and anti-imperialism, in spite of the increasingly sharp attacks and a slander campaign by the forces of reaction. The Afro-American churches are playing a significant, advanced role and adding great strength to the struggle for peace.

The statements of the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Congress and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as well as the positions of the New Jewish Agenda give important support to the nuclear freeze movement and other peace initiatives.

THE CHALLENGE

To develop a deeper understanding of the significance of these

religious movements and their relationship to the social, economic and political struggles of our times.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful in getting support for the positions of these religious movements in the struggle against the reactionary right-wing attacks.

B) To be more helpful in bringing the positions and statements of religious organizations to the community level, including the churches and synagogues within the communities they belong to.

17. The Women's Movement

The new level of emergency on the economic front is hitting women with particular intensity. The unequal nature of layoffs and the number of women who have run out of unemployment benefits is staggering. And, since many are the sole support of families, the cuts in child care, health care, education, food stamps and school lunches sharpen the emergency nature of the crisis for them.

The new focus of women, of women's organizations and the movements for full equality of women is the devastation of the economic crisis and its special impact on women generally, but especially on working women, racially and nationally oppressed women, unemployed women, women who are heads of families and women on farms and farm workers.

In the everyday economic struggles of the economic emergency, on the peace front, against the military budget, in trade union struggles and especially on the electoral front, women are playing an increasingly active, more militant and powerful role than ever before. Their participation has exhibited higher levels of anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and class unity. The women's movement in general is increasingly aware that working class and especially trade union women are the best fighters and leaders representing the interests of all women.

The new, higher level of women's movements brings with it an understanding that equality for women depends upon the strength and unity of the fightback against the economic gridlock, the peace front and the struggle for unity between Black, white and all racially and nationally oppressed peoples. There is a growing understanding that cuts in housing, welfare, child care, health care, social

security and education are all directly linked to the war policies of the Reaganites.

Since our 22nd National Convention there has been a shift in the women's movements and in the struggle for equality. There is a greater emphasis not only on the economic front but also in the electoral arena. The electoral shift was best reflected in the decision of the National Organization of Women (NOW) to support any candidate who met its standards on questions of peace, racism and consumer issues, as well as the direct issues affecting the struggle for equality of women. It was reflected also in the decision to reject women candidates whose position on these major issues were reactionary.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective in the mobilization of other sectors of the mass upsurge, especially the trade unions, to support the struggles on the new issues facing women today. How to help organizations which reflect the problems of working class and racially and nationally oppressed women, such as Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) and Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) to grow and develop commensurate with the possibilities.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful to organizations like WREE, CLUW, Women Strike for Peace and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

B) How to keep up with the accelerated radicalization process taking place among women and win them to the Party. This demands a heightened and unrelenting struggle against the ruling class weapon of male supremacy as it is reflected in the mass movements, the progressive and Left movements, as well as in our Party.

18. The Youth Movement

Like all past generations in our country, today's youth face a unique set of life circumstances. But the present problems are qualitatively different. Among them is the most basic of all — getting enough food, clothing and shelter to stay alive. This has become a crisis condition for millions of our young people.

This is the first generation that has to deal with the problem that

their economic standard, present and future, is lower than that of their parents and grandparents. There is a serious question that this is the first generation that faces the problem of majority chronically unemployed, especially among the racially and nationally oppressed youth. This is the first generation that faces permanent militarization as well as the clear and present danger of life coming to a horrible, abrupt end on earth in a nuclear flash. This places an ever-present, ominous pall over our young people's lives. It leaves its terrifying imprint on how the young view the present and especially the future. This is a generation that faces the continuous and deadly flow and penetration of racism, pushed by monopoly capital and the Reagan Administration, whose influence the young generation cannot escape.

This generation faces the problem of radical deterioration of the public education system, the rising wall of escalating tuition fees and the problem of growing illiteracy. This is the first generation to face the army of robots who replace human hands, especially in industries where young people traditionally have entered the job market. The process of radicalization of the young generation is fed by this unique set of objective circumstances.

Because of the seriousness of the economic problems, including low wages, the sub-minimum wage and unemployment, the present-day youth tend more to see the class struggle as a point of reference and the working class movement as the way to go. More than ever, the present generation needs the concept of an all-youth front of struggle. And there is a need for mass youth organizations among young workers, students, farmers, including sports and cultural organizations.

On May Day weekend 1983, the Young Communist League (YCL) held its founding convention. The birth of the YCL is a direct response to the unique problems and character of today's young people. It is a response to the specific level of the process of radicalization. It is a most important step forward. The YCL will be the carrier of the working class message to the youth. It will introduce young people to the science of Marxism-Leninism. It will be the advocate and propagandist for socialism. The YCL is an independent organization. But we look forward to close, comradely working relationships with the new Communist youth organization.

THE CHALLENGE

We must seek ways to be more active, effective and helpful in all the struggles and movements of the youth.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) We must bring the special youth issues and problems to the trade unions and all people's organizations for effective assistance and action.

B) We must accept the responsibility of helping to build the YCL in all cities, communities, colleges and high schools.

C) There must not be a single district or Party club that does not take effective, organized steps to build the YCL.

19. The Senior Citizens Movement

The senior citizens of our country continue to be the direct victims and casualties of the Reagan budget axe. They suffer most heavily from the guns-not-butter policies. On July 1st the seniors were forced to take another 10% cut in their already poverty-level social security checks. The bi-partisan social security swindle will now take an even heavier toll in sickness, hunger and even death.

The elderly suffer the most from the brutal cuts in Medicaid and Medicare. They are victims of profit-greedy landlords, of skyrocketing rents, decaying housing and so-called gentrification projects, including co-op conversion, evictions and foreclosures. They bear the heaviest burden from the cuts in welfare benefits, food stamps, rent subsidies and medical care. And it is the older farm families who are being driven from the land into dire poverty. They are the majority of the victims of corporate bankruptcies because they lose hard-earned retirement pensions. They go hungry or undernourished because they cannot afford good food. They freeze in unheated apartments and homes because they cannot afford utility costs or decent homes. And, because the elderly are most in need of frequent medical and hospital care they suffer disproportionately from the deterioration in hospital/clinic services and the outrageous increase in medical bills and insurance premiums.

The frustration, anger and militancy of senior citizens keeps mounting. But the social security hoax and the sellout by some who have seemingly been staunch defenders of the elderly has temporarily created some confusion and disorientation. Even moods of defeatism. But this will not last long. There is already stirring a process of regrouping and reassessment.

What are needed are some new initiatives, new tactics and new alliances and coalitions. The experiences of the past difficult year for the elderly argues the need for new organizational forms; programs and tactics that will meet the requirements of different levels of the senior upsurge. What is needed are broad democratic alliances. But there is also a need for left and left-center formations. Without them the broader movements will lack orientation, direction and stability. And, of course, there is a need for more seniors who are Communists, who can work with and provide a more basic direction and perspective, including the advocacy and popularization of socialism.

The total economic security of the elderly citizens in the socialist countries can be a powerful influence on our senior citizens. And, in addition, we can point to the total participation of all retirees in the political decision-making processes, as well as total involvement in programs, clubs and special institutions that make life richer and fuller for retirees under socialism. There is, of course, also the option of continuing careers and work, if they choose. This comparison of the quality of life under socialism and the deterioration of life under capitalism provides a wonderful opportunity to popularize socialism.

THE CHALLENGE

How to be more effective in organizing the work of the Party on all levels in the movements and struggles of the seniors. How to more effectively present the case of senior citizens and get the other sectors of the mass upsurge involved, especially the trade unions.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To establish permanent Party commissions and committees on all levels, starting with the National Office, that will follow through on work among senior citizens.

B) To carry out the planned national Party conference on senior citizens without further delay and set up follow-up apparatus for stabilizing our work in this field.

C) To publish a pamphlet that will include a concrete Party position and program on senior citizens.

D) To seek ways to support and/or initiate movements that will fight for the restoration of cuts, including reimbursements for all social security cuts, welfare, food stamps, rent subsidies, Medicare and Medicaid, etc.

E) To be more helpful and effective in motivating the movements

of senior citizens to focus more on and relate to the specific movements for political independence, especially the Congessional district movements.

20. Working Class and People's Culture

More than ever, U.S. state-monopoly capital recognizes the value of cultural forms. Never before has such extensive use been made of the massive ruling class propaganda machine. Billions are spent to disseminate and permeate our society with anti-working class, racist, anti-Communist and big lie anti-Soviet slander. There is an unprecedented increase in jingoistic and great power chauvinist propaganda. This is carried on overtly and insidiously in order to justify the Administration's preparations for nuclear war.

In the attempt to corrupt, demoralize and brainwash the people, violence, racism, militarism, sexism, occultism, pornography, crime, defeatism, cynicism and decadence dominate the mass media, theater and film as well as the latest fads in bourgeois-sponsored cultural movements.

However, despite its dominance, this decadent ruling class culture does not have a complete monopoly in the United States. Wherever there are struggles and movements, cultural forms emerge reflecting the heroism, the class struggle and solidarity, the confidence in victory of working class and specially oppressed people. There continues to be a people's creative explosion in the fields of film, theater, poetry, literature, song, dance, music, graphic arts and painting, reflecting the different sectors of the people's upsurge.

Each nationality and ethnic component make their respective input to our national culture. Outstanding in this respect is the creative flow from the Afro-American community of a wide span of artistic and cultural contributions of advanced social content. Reflecting and inspiring this vital current in the broad stream of the nation's culture for the past quarter century has been the progressive journal, **Freedomways.**

The ruling class sees culture as an important weapon in the class struggle. The working class and people's organizations, including our Party, must fully recognize the importance of culture on its side of the class struggle. The full recognition and understanding of the

broad spectrum of culture's role is in no way in contradiction to the main class emphasis of our Party. It is in no way contrary to the primacy of the role of the working class. It is an indispensable front in all the struggles and people's movements.

The arts, because of their direct and powerful effect on the minds and emotions of people, and because of their potential for changing attitudes and thought patterns, must be enlisted in the movements and struggles of the people's fightback. There are times when a film or play, a story or poem can be politically effective in convincing and winning people to struggle and to our Party.

Cultural forces can play a major role in all areas of Party life, from enriching and enlivening an event or affair to a club meeting. Culture and the arts can be an effective avenue of recruiting into the Party.

We must support and encourage progressive cultural developments.

We must provide leadership in mass cultural organizations that are fighting for better economic conditions, for unions and a more democratic control of jobs of cultural workers in theaters, galleries, TV, radio and publishing.

We must learn to better utilize cultural forms in projecting the Party's image as well as to win new members to the Party. We can do this through literature, poetry, stories, essays; through the performing arts from three-act plays to skits in union halls; from workers' songs on picket lines and at rallies to concerts and dances portraying workers's struggles; through the visual arts from placards at demonstrations to community-oriented leaflets, folding screen murals for use at street-corner tables, design of logos and pins; as well as through the mass media from the press to audio-visual, TV and radio outlets.

Work in the field of culture and the arts is not yet viewed as an important area of mass struggle by the whole Party. There is a real need for reaffirmation of our commitment to building a people's culture which reflects the multiracial, multinational, male-female composition of our working class, a culture which engages the people's creative spirit and energies, a popular culture that will align itself and become integrated into the struggles and movements of our people.

THE CHALLENGE

How to become more effective in the full mobilization of the forces of art and culture in the struggle to turn back Reaganism and

Reaganomics. How to become more effective in organizing the forces of the arts and culture in the struggle against racism and the evil forces of war and aggression.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To take seriously and reestablish the long-promised reorganization of the Cultural Commission and the undertaking of the publication of a Marxist cultural magazine.

B) To deepen the understanding of the role of culture among our Party membership.

C) To support the new, emerging people's culture and working class cultural forms.

D) To find more effective ways to organize the struggle against the increasing tide of racism in the mass media and all cultural forms.

21. Electoral Politics

Every four years the Presidential elections become a mass, critical testing ground for all currents and political forces. The 1984 elections will largely determine whether our nation will turn around or will continue on the present course of disaster.

As we approach the 1984 elections, there is of course, the danger of some new provocative acts of war. However, there is also the opposite tendency. There is a growing concern by the politicians that the peace sentiment will defeat candidates who support the Reagan war policies. Therefore, the election campaign that is now beginning to heat up can become a powerful movement to block the war drive. The 1984 election campaign can become a peace campaign. We must see the mounting struggle against the Reaganite war policies as an on-going, twelve-month emergency.

The electoral offshoot of the mass upsurge continues to take the form and essence of an anti-monopoly, all-people's front. The parallel and joint activities of these forms in the November, 1982 elections resulted in a number of important victories. The historic victory of Harold Washington in Chicago was possible because of a higher level of consolidation of the same forces resulting in a more organized voting population. In this election the almost total support of the Afro-American community and the majority support of the Chicano-Mexicano and Puerto Rican communities were key factors. Within the unique framework and situation of the Chicago

elections, we must fully understand the significance of the new level of participation of the trade union forces. The lesson we must draw from the Chicago, California and Philadelphia elections is the importance of mobilizing on a new level the forces that make up the anti-monopoly, all-people's front. Such coalitions can be victorious even against the deeply entrenched and well-funded political machines as was the case in Chicago.

The 1984 elections can be turn-around elections for our country. The overall challenge will be against the reactionary policies of the Reagan Administration. The Democratic Party leadership would like to steer the 1984 campaign into one of empty words, without really challenging the underpinnings of Reaganomics or the foreign policy of nuclear confrontation. The Mondales are competing with Reagan in cold war rhetoric. Such an approach does not reflect the mood of the mass upsurge. Such tactics cannot defeat Reaganism. Such tactics will bring only defeat for anti-Reagan Congressional and Senatorial candidates.

It is clear — a winning line and winning approaches will not be forthcoming from the top leadership of the Democratic Party. As the campaigns get under way there could be some shifts in the position of top Democratic candidates, but only if the mass upsurge builds enough pressure and if the divisions in the ranks of the ruling class become sharper.

The electoral victories of Afro-American mayoralty candidates have raised for serious consideration the question of an Afro-American candidate for president on the Democratic Party ticket. It has sharply raised the question of where the two parties of big business stand on racism. The argument that an Afro-American candidate would split the anti-Reagan front does not hold up. The Afro-American community is the most solid anti-Reagan base. To accept such an argument would be to accept the concept that trade unionists and other minority candidates also should never enter such races.

The overall electoral developments give a new and wider meaning to the concept of political independence. This includes many of the forces who are against the Reagan policies, as well as those who do not see the rhetoric of some of the leading Democratic candidates as the basis for a winning alternative to Reagan. Such forces will increasingly seek alliances and relationships with those who will present a program which is a meaningful alternative to Reagan and Reaganomics.

As the mass upsurge develops and the anti-Reagan sentiment

grows it gives rise to new concepts of political and electoral struggles. Millions are open to more clear and viable alternatives. There is a growing dissatisfaction with the politics of ins and outs. There is a growing cynicism about campaign promises that candidates have no intention of keeping.

In our Main Political Resolution for the 22nd Convention we projected that the real political alternative must be based on new politics that are a challenge to the political straight-jacket of state monopoly capitalism and its two old parties. The new politics of political independence that will generate mass enthusiasm must be related to the struggle for butter and against guns. The new politics must take a firm stand against the policies of austerity, against the offensive of big business, against racism, for real cuts in taxes, prices and rents. They must relate to specific programs to save the cities and the family- and independent farmers. They must adopt a foreign policy stance of reversing the present policies of aggression.

The new politics of political independence to be meaningful must present an alternative not only on the many immediate issues, but also an alternative to the more long-range problems that result from the decay of capitalism, including, the problems of structural deterioration. The new politics of independence must be based on the broad anti-monopoly sentiment.

There is a growing constituency and a movement for the politics of a meaningful alternative. And within this constituency there is a growing sentiment that political processes have reached a point from which it is not possible to develop a meaningful alternative without some new forms, on both the grass roots and leadership levels. Support for new politics of political independence ranges from those who still see this becoming a reality within the Democratic Party to those who are convinced that a new, mass, anti-monopoly political party is necessary now. There is a growing sentiment that the new forms must be independent of the old two-party machines, while not necessarily rejecting the possible need to use the old two-party electoral system.

In the trade unions there is an important movement in this direction, which reflects the unique problems of the labor movement. The most important new development, a development that adds a new dimension, is the fact that working class forces, trade union leadership forces, are not only participating, but are taking a lead in these initiatives of political independence.

The Congressional Black Caucus continues to play an active, advanced role. There are many new forms of Afro-American politi-

cal independence in the southern states. The Black mayors, with the addition of Harold Washington in Chicago, are a very important force for new politics of political independence.

There are similar movements growing among farmers, women and professionals. However, in order to become a significant power these separate movements, which already have substantial influence and power, must find the forms through which they can become a united representative of the majority. It is only a united independent political form which can add the new quality that will create a meaningful alternative and become a political magnet which will be able to draw in the forces who are still sitting on the sidelines.

Without such forms, the candidates of the new politics will not fully emerge. And when they do get elected they are often crushed or they are forced to retreat. Without such united forms, the new politics will not be able to bridge the gap between those who have withdrawn from the electoral process and those who are already active, including those who are working within the old two-party system. The growing, broad anti-monopoly sentiment gives the new politics of political independence a firm base, reflecting the self-interests of the great majority of the people.

The broader movement of new politics of political independence is a largely spontaneous development. This is also a source of its weakness. Without an organized left-center component it will not have a clear focus or a consistent line of march. Without an organized left-center it will tend to drift back and become re-attached to the old two-party machines. The left-center can be a more influential factor if it concentrates on key Congressional districts. Wherever possible the left-center forces should try to get all of the various movements to choose the same districts for concentration. This kind of concentration should result in the defeat of reactionary candidates. But it should also result in the election of workers, women, trade unionists and additional Afro-American, Chicano-Mexicano and Puerto Rican representatives, and it should result in strengthening the independence of such candidates who are incumbents.

The movements for political independence have reached a level where there must be serious consdideration given to running and electing candidates from the ranks of the different sectors of the anti-monopoly all-people's front. The time has come when the class composition of government bodies can be changed. It is necessary to take up seriously the running and electing of members of the multi-

racial, multinational, male and female working class to all levels of government.

THE CHALLENGE

To turn the 1984 elections into a decisive defeat for the Reaganites and all the reactionary, anti-labor, racist candidates. To help turn the voter registration drives into political mass movements.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A) To be more helpful and effective in bringing the parallel movements of the all-people's front into working alliances in all phases of electoral struggle.

B) To be more helpful in organizing coalitions of new politics in key Congressional districts and Senatorial campaigns.

C) Take national, state and local initiatives to bring about left-center electoral unity.

D) Take initiatives to build coalitions that will seek, nominate and elect united tickets which reflect the different sections of the anti-monopoly movements, especially trade unionists, Afro-Americans and other minorities, women and youth.

22. The Communist Party and the 1984 Elections

The Presidential election year is also a period of testing for our Party. The campaign is a test of our assessment of the mass thought patterns. It is a test of our ability to influence the different sectors of the anti-monopoly all-people's front. It is a test of the influence of our program and our Party generally. It is a test of the size of our Communist electoral constituency. More than at any other moment, an election campaign brings out our positive, but also our negative, including opportunistic weaknesses.

Assessing our Communist campaigns for the 22nd National Convention we agreed that our campaigns are an important element in the struggle for electoral and democratic rights for all movements. We have made many contributions toward breaking the legal and electoral two-party monopoly. Our campaigns bring into the electoral arena the issues of the class struggle and the struggle against racism. Our campaigns are the most effective ones in exposing the conspiracies and the corruption of capitalist politics.

For the Party, our election campaigns have become crucial in the struggle against the efforts of the capitalist mass media to isolate and bury us. Our campaigns have become a means to struggle for the full role of the Party in political life, for the public presence of our Party. As a result of the experiences of our election campaigns we have greatly improved our propaganda. Through our election campaigns we are able to talk to tens of millions of people about real solutions, our Party, our program and about socialism. Through our signature collecting drives we have personally talked to millions. Our election campaigns are a challenge and an opportunity we must not and can not neglect.

At the present stage of political development it is necessary to examine the possibilities of Communists running for public office on independent lines and/or coalition as part of anti-monopoly slates. Every Communist campaign, including the Presidential ticket, adds to the correctness of this assessment.

We must restate and fight for the concept of Communist candidates on all levels. We must fight against the practice of waiting until it is "too late" as an excuse for not running Communist candidates. Running Communist candidates is the most effective form of public presence, mass propaganda and agitation. Our Party campaigns are a vital and unique part of the electoral struggle, and increasing numbers now expect and welcome Communist candidates.

23. The Communist Party

Since the 22nd National Convention our Party has chalked up many important achievements. We have been changing and growing.

In many states and cities the Party has broken out of its isolation. In many areas the Party has a greater public presence. Some state, city and club organizations are holding public protest meetings, issuing leaflets and newsletters, and doing street work. Radio and TV appearances have added an important dimension to the Party's public presence. Many sections of the Party have become involved in the struggles and movements of the unemployed. Many Communist trade unionists are active in the rising struggles against class collaborationist policies of retreat and giveback. Most of our members are involved in different levels of the peace movement. Many are actively involved in the struggles against racism.

Many Communists, especially the youth, are involved in the youth movements, including the founding and building of the new Young Communist League. During the past year Party organizations have been established in a number of new states, opening the realistic possibility of building the Party in 50 states. While still spotty, some state and city organizations have advanced in the areas of industrial working class concentration. In this sense, the organizing efforts among the unemployed, who in large part are industrial workers, have added a new element to industrial concentration.

However, the Party building drive and the emphasis on integrating the Communist political and ideological essence that will prepare people to join the Party has also revealed some serious weaknesses. The fact that many of our members, including some leading Communists, have never recruited a single new member and do not think that it is necessary or possible presents some serious problems. A corollary of this weakness is that in too many cases the essence of our mass work or our members' contacts with people is on a minimum reformist level. Or worse, on a non-political level.

Another weakness in all too many cases is that comrades remain silent or avoid all controversial questions, which means in life to be passive and neutral about such ideological questions as socialism, anti-Sovietism, racism, anti-working class concepts, imperialism, male supremacy and even about state monopoly capitalism. This silence and even acquiescence extends in some cases to anti-Party slanders.

Many still think we should recruit as if we were working under conditions that are forced upon parties which are illegal. Others behave as if people will join the Party on their own without our conscious effort. Some still see mass work and Party work as opposites, with a time gap between them. They do not see that these two aspects are inseparably and dialectically combined as effective Communist work among the masses.

The emphasis on public presence of the Party has exposed another set of weaknesses. Many still see the Party as an inner discussion-oriented group. Some see a role for individual Communists, but see no open public role of any kind for the Communist Party. Some still talk about the necessity and possibility of a public presence, of a mass Party, of Party building, but they do not take step one to realize these goals. There are security questions that are real. But in too many cases they are turned into an excuse for no public presence of any kind, especially for their own club.

Many of these weaknesses show up in the slowness and even refusal to follow up on new members with visits and new members' classes.

Besides circulating the press, open club meetings and study groups, a Communist club must work to have a street or neighborhood presence. A shop or industrial club must work to have a department, shop and shopgate presence. Because the club is the basis of Party activity, the district leadership needs to give whatever ongoing help and attention is needed on this score, including helping in printing and putting out leaflets and shop papers.

Many clubs and club executives continue to function in a safe, comfortable inner-isolated atmosphere. This atmosphere is devoid of meaningful debate, agitation amongst the people, and especially activity and actions for making the Party's line a living reality. They are satisfied with club and executive meetings consisting of long agendas and long discussions, where decisions are made, but with inadequate plans for assignment, checkup and assessment. These clubs and leaderships exist without any concrete plans or measures to break out of their comfortable inner-existence. What is needed to help overcome these problems is an approach which all comrades help to shape and which in turn is a guide to every member in their role as part of the club.

A continuing problem that puts limits on our work is the shortage of funds. The problem of finances must become a responsibility of every member. Every member of the Party should have a list of friends, supporters and sustainers. We must continually expand the bases of financial support for the Party. Every club must organize fund raising events.

24. The Party's Working Class, Trade Union and Industrial Concentration Policies

The prolonged economic crisis and the deep-going structural crisis, including the increased robotization, is bringing with it significant changes and new challenges for the working class and trade union movement. These developments are having their impact on the work of our Party. The most drastic layoffs are in the basic mass production industries. These are the most decisive, the best or-

ganized and among the more militant sections of the working class. Because they are from the industries most affected by the decline and the structural crisis, they are the key force in the unemployed struggles. These are the industries with the largest numbers of Afro-American, Puerto Rican and Chicano workers who are therefore also disproportionately represented among the unemployed. This adds to the racist economic gap. These are the industries where the Party has had its strongest base.

For the employed, because of concessions, give-backs and miniscule wage increases, for the first time in memory, in the first quarter of 1983 organized workers took a cut in wages. The cut in real take-home pay is even deeper.

25. Trade Unionism in Crisis

These new developments are spawning a crisis of trade unionism. It is a dilemma that cannot be resolved by applying measures and approaches of past periods. It is a dilemma that will not go away without special measures, including change in tactics.

For trade unions to narrow down or limit their responsibilities to those of their numbers still working has always been a short-sighted policy. In today's conditions, when such a large number are chronically unemployed, such policies lead to a serious weakening of trade unionism.

The wage cuts and contracts of retreat have an immediate economic impact. But their longer-range effect is a weakening of the trade unons because a growing lack of confidence in the trade union movement adds to the crisis. As the unions lose the support of their members they will be even less able to meet the continuing corporate attacks. As the racially oppressed workers keep getting laid off in greater numbers and the union leadership remains silent or gives up on affirmative action programs, the corporations use this situation to promote the divisions and to create even deeper fissures in the ranks of workers. This adds to the overall crisis. When the trade unions do not fight back and continue on the defensive this weakens the unions on all fronts and also adds to the dilemma.

THE CHALLENGE

When the working class faces critical periods a working class party must accept a unique and special responsibility. Our Party must and can make an important contribution in finding the solu-

tions to the present crises. The solutions have to be based on a higher level of the class struggle which only our Party can give a lead to.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBIITIES

A) We must become more active on all levels of the trade union structure — local, central labor bodies, state organizations and leading bodies of internationals.

B) We must work on all levels of the political spectrum of the trade union movement — left and center.

C) We must work to convince, in fact to prove, that the policies of retreat are not necessary and only further intensify the crisis of the trade union movement. This includes a new level of effort to assist the trade unions in the organization of unorganized workers.

D) We must expose and fight the new concepts of class collaboration such as the quality of work life circles and the employee stock ownership plans (ESOPS).

E) We must help local unions set up lectures, classes, forums, educationals and newsletters on a variety of subjects, with emphasis on concepts of class struggle trade unionism.

F) We must be more helpful in bringing independent political action down to the level of electing members of local unions to public office.

G) We must help strengthen and develop left-center formations where necessary as a means for moving the working class onto the offensive.

H) We must help strengthen and organize Left forms within the trade union movement—as indispensable to victories on any level, in any arena—economic, political action, against racism and for peace.

I) We must help organize Left forms as indispensable in the struggle for working class unity, as indispensable in the process of the working class fulfilling its historic leading role.

J) We must advocate, popularize and agitate for nationalization of such industries as steel, auto, rubber and electrical, etc., as well as pharmaceutical, oil, banking, and insurance.

K) We must seriously undertake to introduce the science of Marxism-Leninism in a popular, up-to-date way to ever wider circles of workers. Workers who understand the inner laws of capitalist exploitation will be better front-line fighters against the crisis of trade unionism. They will become the cadre for the trade union movement and for left and left-center formations. And, they

will become the new recruits into the shop and industrial clubs. Marxism-Leninism is a powerful science for extending the ability of Communists and non-Party fighters to contribute to the shift of the working class from the defensive to offensive struggle.

L) Industrial concentration must become a way of political life for the leadership, especially in the industrial states. We must put an end to situations where the shop and industrial clubs stagnate, do not meet for weeks and months, and the leadership of the district or section does nothing to help remedy the situation.

The Party is politically and ideologically united. But there are weaknesses. There are weaknesses that have their roots in not fully seeing the class struggle as the pulsating, central core affecting all thinking, influencing all movements and actions on both sides of the struggle. Lack of this basic understanding gives rise to the weakness of not fully seeing or understanding the unique nature and key role of the working class in all stages of development, including the struggle for socialism; not fully seeing or understanding that the basis for the unique, frontline role of the working class is the class exploitation, the social, mass nature of production, that it is this objective reality that creates the well-spring for class consciousness, which is the main developing and growing ingredient of working class thought patterns.

It is a weakness not to understand that what brings about class unity is the class nature of the exploitation, the social mass nature of production and of course the private expropriation of the products. This is the foundation for everything about the working class as a whole. It determines the role and character of our Party. It is a basic fact that class consciousness can only reach its full potential if we work as a working class Marxist-Leninist Party. The weakness on the fundamental questions of the class struggle leaves the door open for wrong approaches and attitudes such as:

A) Bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts that delete, dilute and replace the leading role which society has assigned the working class, as a class.

B) Petty bourgeois concepts that do not see or accept the working class as a class and the struggle against class exploitation as the basis for class consciousness and class unity.

C) Being only critical and seeing only the weaknesses of the working class and the trade unions, and ignoring any of the positive developments.

In a sense, what Lenin said in 1917 can serve as a lead for our own approach:

"The interests of the working class demand that the workers of all nationalities . . . should have common proletarian organizations; political, trade union, educational institutions of the cooperatives and so forth. Only the merging of the workers of the various nationalities into such common organizations will make it possible for the proletariat to wage a successful struggle against international capital and bourgeois nationalism." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works, Vol. 2*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, p. 145. Also *C.W.* Vol. 24: 303).

Our main emphasis, our point of reference, our solid framework is the working class as one united class molded by the same system of capitalist exploitation. Only after this fundamental framework is understood and accepted can we deal more effectively with special conditions, problems and tactics. Only after this is understood can the Communist Party perform its role in helping to build our class into the effective, leading force which can and will lead to victories over state monopoly capitalism.

There are still weaknesses of not seeing the dialectical relationship between the class struggle, the working class and the struggle against racism. There are weaknesses in not seeing the real and key importance of the concept of the multi-racial, multi-national working class as one single class, the real and key importance of Black-white unity as it relates to working class unity.

There are weaknesses that flow from talking generally about the struggle against racism, but..not seeing that the measure of our effectiveness is how we conduct the struggle against the endless concrete acts and manifestations of racism. The struggle against the influence and fallout of racism and chauvinism in the Party's ranks must be vigilance against the more hidden and insidious manifestations, which in some ways are more difficult to deal with.

Though we have made progress, liquidationist tendencies continue to exist in our work. These come from two opposite directions. Specific examination is needed in each collective to see what the concrete weaknesses are in this regard. In our work there are some sectarian weaknesses. They mainly appear in the work, attitudes and approaches of individual comrades, as well as a few Party collectives. But the main weaknesses and the greater pressures on our Party still come from the right-opportuntistic direction. Some still see the emphasis on the role and the building of the Party as an influence of sectarianism. In the world movement, in some parties, the constant repetition of the words "sectarianism and dogmatism"

is really a cover for right opportunism. Neglect or failure to join the struggle against anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, racism and all other main bourgeois ideological currents manifests right opportunism.

The lack of struggle for the Party's public role and presence, the resistance to integrating political and ideological content into our mass work, the hestitation to open up the Party to easier access for new members are all basically reflections of right opportunistic weaknesses. We must fight against counterposing the Party to mass work and mass work to the Party. In real life they are not opposites. The lack of effort to organize rank and file groups and caucuses, the resistance to organized left and left-center formations are in most cases the result of right opportunism.

Finally, while we have a united Party, it is necessary to warn against some isolated cases where individual comrades tend to carry on factional-like discussions which include spreading slanderous falsehoods about the Party, its policies, tactics and leading personalities. It is necessary to always keep in mind that the enemy is always alert and uses every such opportunity for its own purposes.

Our Party approaches all questions in which the working class and the masses struggle with the utmost confidence that they will understand fully the dialectics of those struggles; that they will see the struggles as producing victories and gains; but that the evils against which they struggle cannot be gotten rid of once and for all without getting rid of their source—the capitalist system.

We approach with full confidence the idea that these struggling masses will see the need for socialism as the alternative and solution to the present sufferings.

Therefore, we must day to day find ways to explain and demonstrate from life's experience socialism as a goal worth struggling for.

There are many ways in which we will be able to demonstrate in life, real living socialism. One of those ways is through the struggle for jobs through trade with the socialist countries—especially the Soviet Union.

Trade in the first place means jobs. But since socialism is an ever expanding economy whose aim is to satisfy the needs and desires of the people, such trade then becomes geometrically expanded which means more and more jobs for U.S. workers. The struggle for trade places the working class right in the middle of the struggle to shape U.S. foreign policy, to move it into a posture of peaceful coexistence and detente. It raises the consciousness of the working class regard-

ing the content of life of workers under socialism.

What U.S. workers will come to understand through this process is that the standard of living of workers under socialism goes in only one direction— upward. This upward motion results from the law-governed process of socialist planning of production and distribution for planned increases in the standard of living. In this sense, by coming into contact and viewing socialism, U.S. workers can see their own future. That will serve their desire and ability to struggle.

Workers will come to learn that in the U.S. the level of technology is at such a point that it can only benefit workers if it is applied under socialist conditions. Under capitalism, even now they see it as destroying their lives. The consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union is a powerful argument for socialism.

26. The Fight for Communist Maturity

As a feature of our pre-convention discussion, it is necessary to have a self-critical examination of our work at all levels of leadership and extended to all Party bodies and institutions, as well as our membership.

Such critical and self-critical evaluations must be conducted in an atmosphere which strengthens the work of the collectives and the individual comrades. The work of individual comrades must be evaluated with consideration for and evaluation of the collectives of which they are a part, as well as their own role.

Such evaluations must be concrete, and should include the following: What are the achievements and advances, as well as weaknesses (of the club, section, district, Party, etc.), since the 22nd Convention? Which can be attributed to objective developments and which are subjective weaknesses? What is the nature of the weaknesses and what steps can be taken to correct them? Of course, clubs do not have to limit their examination to their own work, but that is the best starting point for a concrete, realistic evaluation.

The purpose of such an evalution is to strengthen the work of the Party and help the process of developing mature Communist cadre.

Our Party is called upon to play a tremendous role in the developing struggles of our class and people. Political and ideological maturity must become the basis for the development of a Communist

personality which measures up to the tasks and responsibilities of our time.

This means we must conduct a daily struggle for higher ethical and moral standards, because the pressures are tremendous. When new people, especially working class people join our Party, they expect something different from us. If they find even a shadow of the corruption, cynicism, etc. in our Party that they find in other organizations, we won't be able to hold them.

In order to consolidate new members, a club must conduct a real struggle in many areas. It must struggle for working class attitudes, approaches, a style of work, a healthy club atmosphere, and a rich, productive plan of work in the club.

The working class is forced by life to see things on a class, collective basis and to react based on a sense of the collective. Their lives and their self-interest depend upon it every day. This must become a life and work style for our Party on all levels.

Mature Communists must not be or react subjectively. Communists must be big, not petty. Not reacting subjectively is a working class characteristic. Subjectivity is petty bourgeois, individualistic kind of behavior.

Lenin also talked about immodesty as not becoming to Communists. The capitalist system breeds immodesty. A system that breeds a dog-eat-dog mentality breeds egoism and elitism. But these, and immodesty, are not working class traits. Workers are generally modest because their class takes precedence over the individual, even instinctively. We must struggle against self-centeredness and boastfulness.

A Communist must lead, convince, persuade, win over. A Communist must never command, order, or talk down. These are not only wrong but counter-productive. We have a volunteer organization. And when you try to command and order people around they voluntarily leave, or withdraw from activity.

We must strive to develop more working class openness, more straightforward, honest and comradely human relationships. The individual comrade must feel responsible for the spirit and comradely atmosphere of the collective, and for making the maximum possible personal contribution to carrying out the work and policies of the Party.

27. New Role of Our Press, Propaganda and Agitation

One truth can neutralize a thousand lies. As U.S. capitalism sinks deeper into this general crisis, it desperately expands its ideological propaganda role in the struggle against the force of historic social change and world peace. It has now expanded its efforts to unprecedented, explosive dimensions. The Reagan Administration is a veritable generator of lies. Truth is totally alien to it. It spews forth blatant lies in an endless emission from all pores.

We must make radical adjustments in our work, to respond with the truth of these outpourings. Therefore we must take a fresh look at our propaganda and agitation work. We must find more timely, popular and convincing responses. Our pamphlets and all our literature must reflect this requirement.

We must use the letters to the editor columns to not only respond but to initiate ideas and discussions. We must master the art of mass producing and distributing leaflets on immediate issues.

All of this calls for a new look at how we understand the role of our press.

The enthusiastic response to the special editions on unemployment and the issues on basic industries, with circulation of these issues approaching 100,000 is an indication of the new opportunities. The unprecedented reception of our paper on the unemployment lines and at shop gates is another indication. The fact that unemployed workers are now circulating our paper, and that it has become an organizing/educating tool in the unemployed movement is another indication of the new possibilities.

The time has come to take concrete measures to organize the apparatus for a mass circulation. A goal of 100,000 Daily World circulation is now a realistic one. We now have the most advanced technology, the printing equipment to put out a modern, mass paper on a national scale. The *Daily World* can now put out local editions, industry editions, special editions, early and late editions. Of course, we can have a Communist paper with a mass circulation only if:

A) We are convinced that the mass market is open to us.

B) We take the steps necessary to set up the apparatus and the personnel for it.

C) We mobilize and involve the whole membership of the Party.

D) We understand the political and ideological influence and

effect a mass circulation of our press can have in all areas of struggle.

E) We are convinced of the need to raise funds for it.

THE CHALLENGE

How to improve the political, ideological and organizational work of our Party and press on all levels.

A) To widen and improve our mass work.

B) To improve our propaganda and agitation—both in content and form.

C) To mold our Party press into a modern, mass circulation daily working class newspaper; to improve its partisan advocacy and polemical defense of the policies of the Party.

D) To deepen the understanding of our Party regarding the class struggle and the working class.

OUR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

To continue to change so we can grow into a mass Communist Party. The task and basic responsibility of every member and every collective is to be a Party builder.

A) For every Party member to be involved in movements and struggle of the people.

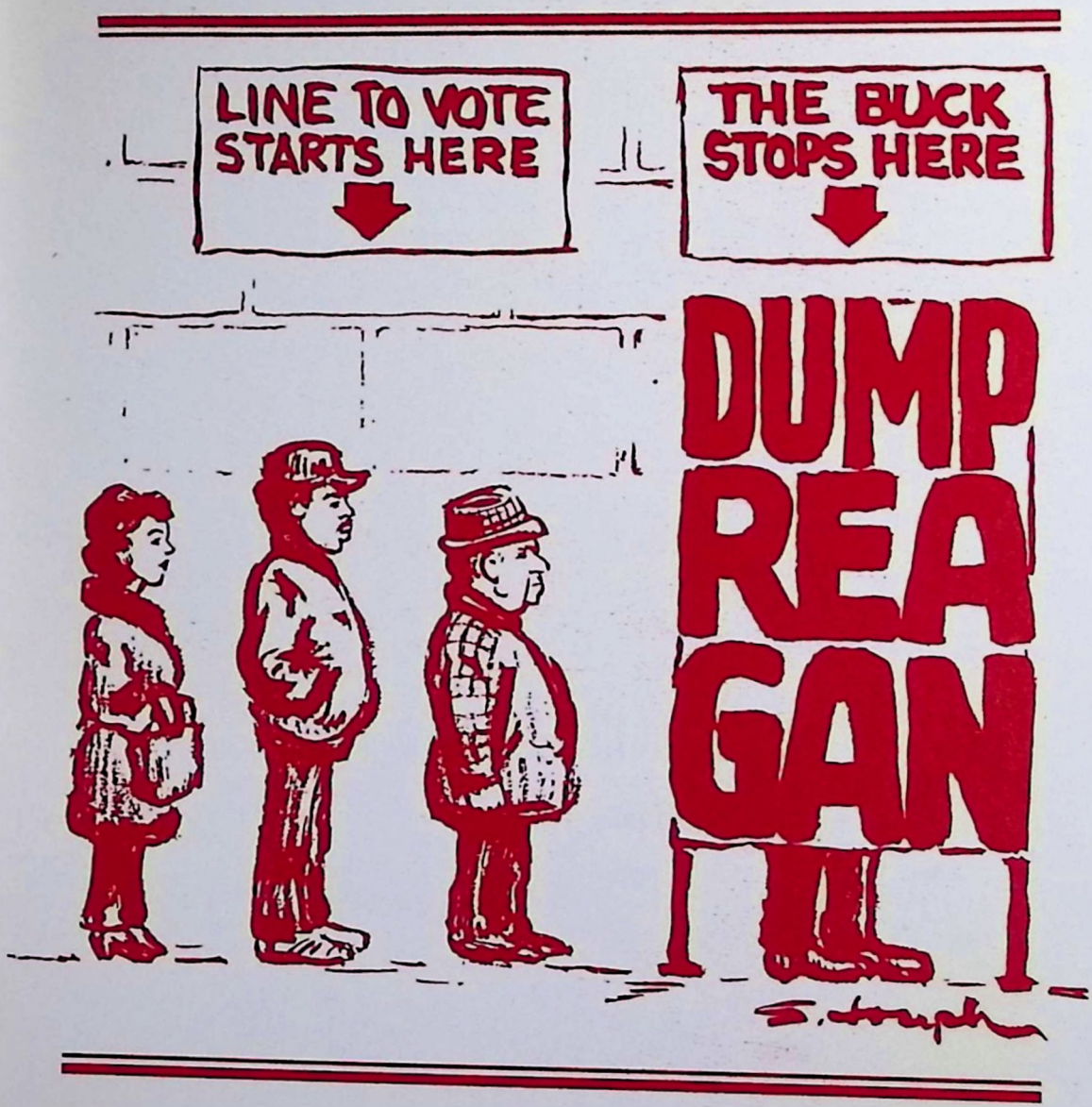
B) For each club to have a shop, block or neighborhood for planned concentrated work.

C) To carry on political and ideological work that will prepare and convince people to join the Party.

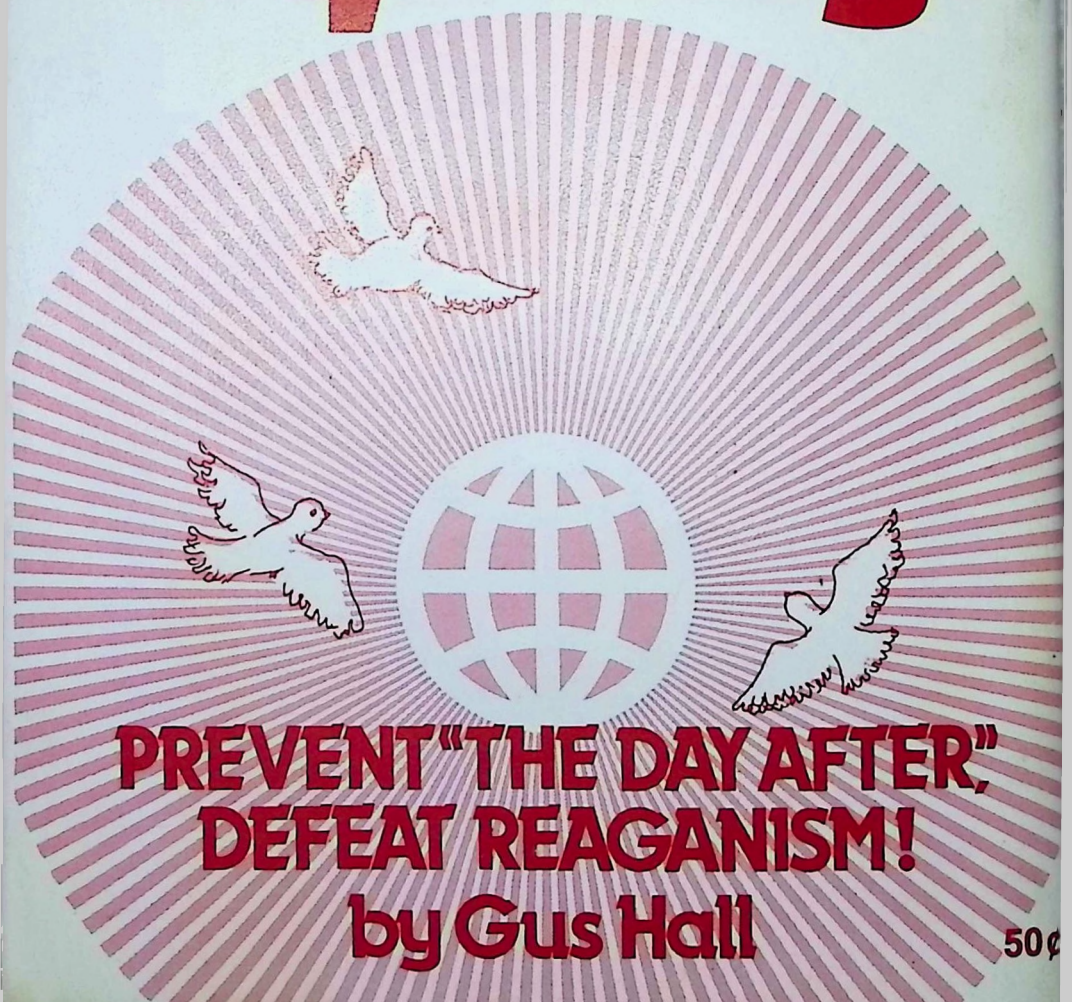
D) To ask, to convince a friend, a shop mate, a neighbor, a relative, to join the Party.

E) To help organize discussion groups, study groups and open club meetings.

F) To study this document, to seek ways to apply it in activity and come to the 24th Convention with new achievements and a far larger, more effective Communist Party.


LINE TO VOTE STARTS HERE
THE BUCK STOPS HERE
DUMP REA GAN

For Peace, Jobs, Equality.



PREVENT "THE DAY AFTER," DEFEAT REAGANISM!

by Gus Hall

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